

**Use of Restrictive Expressions JUSTE,  
SEULEMENT, and RIEN QUE in Ontario  
French**

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This work examines the social, geographic and syntactic distribution of the synonymous French restrictives SEULEMENT, RIEN QUE, and JUSTE in the speech of adolescent Franco-Ontarians, and compares its findings with two studies of Montreal French. The trends uncovered include: the increased frequency of the expression JUSTE favoured most by females, the working class, and infrequent users of French; the association of RIEN QUE with males; and the marginal use of SEULEMENT. Restriction of infinitives and circumstantial complements is associated with the use of JUSTE.

Cette étude examine la distribution sociale, géographique et syntaxique des expressions de restriction synonymes SEULEMENT, RIEN QUE, et JUSTE dans le parler de Franco-Ontariens adolescents et compare ses résultats avec ceux de deux études sur le français de Montréal. Les principales tendances révélées par notre étude sont: la montée de JUSTE - associée surtout avec les filles, les locuteurs de la classe ouvrière, et ceux qui communiquent peu souvent en français; l'association de RIEN QUE avec les garçons; et l'emploi marginal de SEULEMENT. La restriction des infinitifs et des compléments circonstanciels est associée à l'emploi de JUSTE.

THE PRESENCE OF A FRENCH-SPEAKING MINORITY in Ontario is chiefly the result of a more or less continuous influx of francophone immigrants from Quebec which has taken place over the last 150 years or so. From a genetic linguistic perspective then, Ontario French can be looked upon, as a "transplanted" variety of Quebecois French. An important difference between Quebecois French and Ontario French, however, lies in the fact that the latter has come under intensive contact with English. Today, most Franco-

Ontarians are bilingual in English and French, and use English in their daily communication.

During the last twenty-five years, numerous studies of variation in Quebecois French have been carried out. They offer sociolinguists, investigating variation in Ontario French, a unique opportunity to carry out replicative studies which can not only highlight the aspects of variation which this dialect of Canadian French shares with Quebecois French, but also those which it does not, and which, for the most part, are the result of contact with English. As such, these studies can contribute to the advancement of our understanding of the mechanisms of linguistic variation and change in situations of language contact.

This present study consists in precisely the kind of replication mentioned above. It examines the variable usage of three synonymous locutions of restriction (JUSTE, SEULEMENT, and RIEN QUE) by adolescent speakers of French from Ontario. This case of variation has been the subject of previous sociolinguistic research focussing on Montreal French (Massicotte, 1986; Thibault and Daveluy, 1989). In addition to assessing the influence of syntactic context on locution choice, the present study measures the effect of several extra-linguistic parameters: the speakers' socio-economic status, gender, locality of residence, and frequency of use of French in informal situations of communication.

#### Previous Research

Although contemporary grammars and dictionaries of European French attest to the long-standing restrictive usage of SEULEMENT, and RIEN QUE, only the most recent ones document the restrictive usage of JUSTE. The various examples given in Larousse are taken exclusively from oral communication, e.g., "*J'ai juste pris le temps de dîner*" (Larousse, 1990, p. 550). This may be taken as an indication that the restrictive usage of JUSTE has only recently entered European French. Interestingly, research on the use of restrictive expressions in Montreal French has documented a dramatic rise in the use of restrictive JUSTE, and so it may be that this usage is also a recent addition to this variety of Canadian French.

Variable choice of JUSTE, SEULEMENT, and RIEN QUE was first investigated by Massicotte (1986) using the 1971 Montreal spoken-French corpus of Sankoff and Cedergren. In addition to these three restrictive locutions, Massicotte found only a few occurrences of the standard French NE...QUE construction. NE...QUE was employed only by the most highly-educated subjects and thus this very infrequent locution was excluded from her subsequent statistical analyses.

The main findings of Massicotte's study showed that: i) there is an effect of the syntactic context on locution choice; ii) JUSTE usage is on the rise among the younger generations and is promoted by the middle class; iii) RIEN QUE, in contrast, is used more often by older speakers and by the working class; and iv) SEULEMENT is used by people from all age groups and is also associated with the middle class.

The same case of variation was reexamined by Thibault and Daveluy (1989) using the new Montreal spoken-French corpus gathered in 1984. Their results confirmed those of Massicotte: i) syntactic context does have an effect on locution choice; ii) JUSTE is more frequent than the other two variants in the speaker sample as a whole; iii) it is on the increase among the younger speakers who use it nearly three quarters of the time; iv) it is associated with the middle class; and v) it seems to be favoured more by women than by men. As for RIEN QUE, it is used more often by the working class than is SEULEMENT.

Among the previous studies of other cases of variation in Ontario French, one holds particular relevance to the present study. That study, by Mougeon and Beniak (1991, chapter 9), was centred on the variable usage of three synonymous prepositional locutions to express movement to or location at one's dwelling. The prepositions under study were: CHEZ the standard variant, SU' the vernacular variant, and À LA MAISON a variant neither stigmatized nor promoted in French reference works, but which resembles the English equivalent expressions: (AT) HOME, AT/TO ONE'S HOME. The link between the prepositional variants and the restrictive expressions under study here can be made as follows: NE...QUE and SEULEMENT as the counterparts to CHEZ (the standard variant); RIEN QUE to SU' (the vernacular variant); and JUSTE to À LA MAISON (in that it, too, has an English equivalent similar in form, namely restrictive JUST - *There are just three cars on the road. Il y a juste trois autos sur la route.*)

Examination of the social correlates for the three prepositional variants, studied by Mougeon and Beniak (1991), revealed that SU' is used more often by working class speakers than by speakers from the remaining social strata. However, in the speech of the adolescents who make infrequent use of French in informal interactional settings, e.g., at home, this vernacular variant was found to be non-existent. This finding is attributable to the fact that these students (restricted speakers of French) use French primarily in the context of the French medium school which they attend. The preposition SU' was also shown to be used infrequently by speakers from the localities where francophones represent a small minority (i.e. Pembroke and North Bay), and hence where there are proportionally more restricted speakers of French. These findings are in line with previous studies which have shown that the less Franco-Ontarian adolescents use French in informal situations of communication, the more their

French tends to be affected by the standardizing influence of the French-medium school. Consequently, in the present study of restrictive expressions, one could speculate that RIEN QUE (the counterpart of SU') would be used least frequently by the restricted speakers, and by the speakers from the weak francophone minority communities.

As for the prepositional phrase À LA MAISON, Mougeon and Beniak (1991) found it not to be associated with any specific social group, but to be correlated, instead, with the subject's locality of residence. The subjects from the minority communities used À LA MAISON significantly more often than did those from the strong francophone majority community, of Hawkesbury, a finding which was attributed to English language convergence on the part of the former subjects. More specifically, it was argued that, in contrast to the Hawkesbury students, the students from the francophone minority communities are all proficient speakers of English, and hence they tend to prefer À LA MAISON, the variant which closely resembles the English equivalents (AT) HOME or AT/TO ONE'S HOME. Note that the preferential use of À LA MAISON did not entail any qualitative (e.g., syntactic or semantic) deviation from the way À LA MAISON is used in French, which could be ascribed to transfer from English. It simply manifested itself through a marked rise in the frequency of this form. This led Mougeon and Beniak to refer to it as a case of *covert* interference (as opposed to overt interference, a form of intersystemic transfer which entails qualitative deviations from monolingual usage). Covert interference, which is also referred to by other authors as linguistic convergence, has been well-documented as a key source of linguistic change in language contact situations (e.g., Thomason and Kaufman, 1988). In keeping with what was found in relation to À LA MAISON, one might anticipate, in the present study of restrictive expressions, that JUSTE would be favoured by speakers from the weak francophone minority communities.

## Methodology

### *Speaker Sample*

The corpus of spoken French used for this study was gathered from 117 adolescents enrolled in French-medium high schools in the Ontario towns of Hawkesbury, Cornwall, North Bay and Pembroke (see Mougeon and Beniak, 1991). The speaker sample is summarized in Table 1. In these four localities, francophones represent varying proportions of the local population (85% in Hawkesbury, 38% in Cornwall, 18% in North Bay, and only 8% in Pembroke). The students are from both gender groups and come from the middle, lower-middle, and working classes. They also exhibit sizeable differences in the extent to which they communicate in French with their family and friends, both within

Table 1

## Composition of speaker sample

Locality	Gender	Social Class	French language use restriction		
			Restricted	Semi-Restricted	Unrestricted
Hawkesbury (N=20)	M (N=7)	Middle (N=2)	-	1	1
		Lo-Middle (N=2)	-	-	2
		Working (N=3)	-	-	3
	F (N=13)	Middle (N=4)	-	-	4
		Lo-Middle (N=5)	-	-	5
	Working (N=4)	-	-	4	
Cornwall (N=38)	M (N=24)	Middle (N=3)	-	1	2
		Lo-Middle (N=10)	3	5	2
		Working (N=11)	6	3	3
	F (N=14)	Middle (N=3)	1	1	1
		Lo-Middle (N=8)	2	5	1
North Bay (N=31)	M (N=16)	Working (N=3)	9	2	1
		Middle (N=4)	2	1	1
		Lo-Middle (N=8)	2	4	2
	F (N=15)	Working (N=4)	1	2	1
		Middle (N=1)	-	1	-
	Lo-Middle (N=6)	2	4	-	
Pembroke (N=28)	M (N=16)	Working (N=8)	1	6	1
		Middle (N=4)	1	3	-
		Lo-Middle (N=8)	5	2	1
	F (N=12)	Working (N=4)	-	4	-
		Middle (N=1)	1	-	-
	Lo-Middle (N=6)	4	2	-	
	Working (N=5)	2	2	1	
<b>Total (N=117)</b>	M=63 F=54	M=22 LM=53 W=42	33	48	36

and outside of the home, and in the French-medium school (patterns of interpersonal communication which are associated with the use of vernacular Ontario French). The speaker sample includes: i) students who always or often use French (instead of English) in the above-mentioned situations (referred to here as unrestricted speakers of French), ii) students who use French roughly as often as English (semi-restricted speakers of French), and iii) students who use English considerably more often than French (restricted speakers of French).

This particular sample design was chosen to investigate linguistic variation both as a function of standard sociological parameters (e.g., social

class and gender), and of key dimensions of the Franco-Ontarian community (e.g., individual degree of French language use restriction and variation in local francophone concentration). The reader is referred here to Mougeon and Beniak (1991) for a detailed description of the research design and methodology used for this study and previous studies of variation in the spoken French of our subjects.

#### *Hypotheses*

In light of the above review of relevant research, the hypotheses of the present study can be summarized as follows:

- i) highly infrequent usage of NE...QUE (as was the case in the Massicotte study) :
- ii) an association between RIEN QUE and speakers from the working class (as shown by both Massicotte, and Thibault and Daveluy)
- iii) a decline of RIEN QUE in restricted speakers' French (similar to Mougeon and Beniak's findings regarding SU')
- iv) an association between SEULEMENT and the middle class (as found by Massicotte)
- v) an association between JUSTE and the middle class (as found by both Massicotte, and Thibault and Daveluy), and between JUSTE and female speakers (as shown by Thibault and Daveluy)
- vi) an association between JUSTE and residence in a francophone minority community (similar to Mougeon and Beniak's findings regarding À LA MAISON)
- vii) an effect of syntactic context on the choice of the restrictive variants (as Massicotte and Thibault and Daveluy have shown).

Concerning this last hypothesis, the present study established finer syntactic categories than those used by the Montreal sociolinguists. The following categories were distinguished:

#### 1. two positions for the locution when used to restrict a verb:

##### i) 'left of verb':

(1 a) [...] *ça jusse dépend sur le professeur* P18

(1 b) [...] *il 'ien que l'apprend à l'école* C31

##### ii) 'right of verb':

(1 c) *Ils font jusse dire ça pour heu... épeurer le monde là* N 16

(1 d) *Des fois j'aimerais seulement que parler une langue* N25

(1 e) *Il voulait 'ien que dire qu'il était pour séparer le Québec* CI3

#### 2. the restriction of an adjectival phrase:

(2a) *Comme heu ... j'sus pas jusse anglaise ... j'peux parler français*  
C24

(2b) *il va peut-être avoir sa ... son enseigne seulement française*  
*mais la plupart vont avoir bilingues* C09

(2c) *Mais j'dis que c'est rien que normal c'est la vie* C20

3. the restriction of a noun phrase:

(3a) [...] *tu sors de heu Gatineau ... de d'là, c'est jusse un p'tit*  
*chalet* P20

(3b) [...] *c'est seulement qu'un cours de un' année* HI

(3c) *J'écoute 'ien que la musique* C13

4. the restriction of a circumstantial complement:

(4a) [...] *on a du fun pareil puis là on descend jusse pour le jour de*  
*l'an* H11

(4b) [...] *je me tiens seulement avec quelque personnes* N01

(4c) *Mon moteur était 'ien que dans un morceau* N24

The reader may have noticed that the position left of verb, illustrated by examples 1 a and 1 b above, where an English translation would have restrictive JUST used to the left of the verb, corresponds to a deviation from the rules of French syntax. Such a usage, which was not reported for Montreal French, and which is ungrammatical in the second author's European dialect of French, is likely the result of syntactic interference from English. It was pointed out above that the process of linguistic convergence, discussed above, by definition does not entail such qualitative deviation. Since the present study intends to verify the hypothesis that JUSTE usage is linked to a process of linguistic convergence, one might expect that such deviant usages would be excluded from the database. However, as the analysis of the data will show, these usages were quite infrequent, and so were not removed. In so doing, it was possible to measure the effect of this particular syntactic context on restrictive locution choice.

It can also be pointed out that each of the three locutions under study exhibits variation in its morphonetic form. SEULEMENT occurred with or without QUE (other conjunctions like QUAND, SI, POURQUOI, etc. display this variation), see examples 1d and 2b. RIEN QUE occurred with or without its initial /r/, see examples 1e and 2c (when it occurs without /r/ it is variably pronounced as [jêk/êk]). JUSTE was most often pronounced [3YS] (final consonant clusters often undergo simplification in vernacular Ontarian French), as illustrated by all of the examples above which include JUSTE. These variations in the form of the lexical variants under study are most likely observable in Montreal French. They were not distinguished by either Massicotte (1986), or Thibault and Daveluy (1989) in their statistical analyses of variation. They will not be distinguished either in the present study, since this would entail a fragmentation of the lexical variable into too many variants for the modest database of the present study to lend itself to the regression analysis.

Hopefully this aspect of variation in the use of restrictive expressions will be the object of future study.

*Statistical Analysis of the Data*

The data for this study were analyzed using GoldVarb II (Rand and Sankoff, 1990), a program which runs a step-wise logistic regression analysis making it possible to identify linguistic and extra-linguistic "predictors" of locution choice (i.e. the factors which are *significantly* correlated with variation

Table 2

Frequency of *juste*, *rien que* and *seulement*

Factor Groups	<i>Juste</i> (N)	<i>Juste</i> (%)	<i>Seulement</i> (N)	<i>Seulement</i> (%)	<i>Rien que</i> (N)	<i>Rien que</i> (%)	TOTAL (N)
FRENCH-LANGUAGE RESTRICTION							
Unrestricted	218	66	52	16	58	18	328
Semi-restricted	366	68	62	11	115	21	542
Restricted	231	80	41	14	16	6	288
LOCALITY							
Hawkesbury	90	67	24	18	21	15	135
Cornwall	224	62	59	16	78	22	361
North Bay	198	74	26	9	46	17	269
Pembroke	303	77	46	12	44	11	393
SOCIAL CLASS							
Middle	106	61	30	18	37	21	173
Lower-middle	393	68	86	15	97	17	575
Working	316	77	39	10	55	13	410
GENDER							
Male	385	65	82	14	129	21	595
Female	430	76	73	13	60	11	563
SYNTACTIC CONTEXT							
Left of Verb	15	88	0	0	2	12	17
Right of Verb	169	77	12	5	40	18	220
Complement	214	76	33	12	33	12	280
Adjective	43	73	10	17	6	10	59
Noun Phrase	374	64	100	17	108	19	582
TOTAL	815	70	155	14	189	16	1158



in the frequency of each locution). GoldVarb II can only perform analyses of binary variation (i.e. a choice between two variants). Consequently, when variation involves more than two variants, as is the case here, variants have to be combined or excluded in order to reduce the variable data to a case of binary variation (e.g., variants a+b vs variant c; variants a+c vs variant b; variant a vs variant b; variant a vs variant c, etc.). Among the different combinations or exclusions possible with the variants under study, the following two were chosen: i) RIEN QUE vs SEULEMENT (in order to zero in on the opposition between the vernacular variant and its standard counterpart), and ii) JUSTE vs RIEN QUE + SEULEMENT (in order to focus on the variant which is expected, among other things, to be involved in a process of linguistic convergence namely JUSTE).

## Results

Before turning to the results of the statistical analyses, it should be pointed out that no instances of NE...QUE were found in the present corpus. NE...QUE was highly infrequent in the Montreal French corpuses, and was used only by the most educated adult speakers. Its absence in the speech of the present study's adolescent subjects, speakers of French who are still in high school, does not come as much of a surprise.

Since the GoldVarb analyses performed here do not involve a ternary comparison of the frequencies of each variant, i.e. JUSTE vs RIEN QUE vs SEULEMENT, such frequencies (expressed in terms of numbers and percentages, and presented according to the independent variables under study) are provided in Table 2. The differences in frequencies, which can be observed in this table, will not be discussed here since their statistical significance would need to be assessed. The GoldVarb analyses will do precisely that, at least in relation to RIEN QUE vs SEULEMENT, and JUSTE vs RIEN QUE + SEULEMENT. Suffice it to say here that, overall, the ternary calculation of frequencies has revealed a predominance of JUSTE over the other two variants -it is used no less than 70% of the time. This mirrors what was found by Thibault and Daveluy (1989). In their study, the younger subjects used JUSTE 73% of the time. Furthermore, the frequency counts of the two remaining variants are almost equal: SEULEMENT 14%, and RIEN QUE 16%.

Turning now to the GoldVarb analyses, the results for the contrast between RIEN QUE and SEULEMENT are displayed in Table 3. This table provides data on the number of occurrences of the restrictive variants under study (N), the total number of occurrences of the two variants under study (N), and the proportional representation of RIEN QUE (%), all given as functions of the five factor groups expected to correlate with variation. For each factor

the table provides a value for the effect that each factor within that group has on the use of RIEN QUE (e.g., *male* within the factor group *gender*). An effect value higher than .50 is an indication of a favourable effect on the use of RIEN

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Table 3  
GoldVarb analysis of *rien que* vs *seulement*

Factor Groups	<i>Rien que</i> (N)	<i>Seulement</i> (N)	Total (N)	<i>Rien que</i> (%)	Factor Effects
FRENCH-LANGUAGE USE					
Unrestricted	58	52	110	53	0.48
Semi-restricted	115	62	177	65	0.60
Restricted	16	41	57	28	0.22
LOCALITY					
Hawkesbury	21	24	45	47	
Cornwall	78	59	137	57	not significant
North Bay	46	26	72	64	significant
Pembroke	44	46	90	49	
SOCIAL CLASS					
Middle	37	30	67	55	not significant
Lower-middle	97	86	183	53	significant
Working	55	39	94	59	
GENDER					
Male	129	82	211	61	0.57
Female	60	73	133	45	0.37
SYNTACTIC CONTEXT					
Left of Verb	2	0	2	100	K.O.
Right of Verb	40	12	52	77	0.70
Noun Phrase	108	100	208	52	0.48
Complement	33	33	66	50	0.43
Adjective	6	10	16	38	0.30
TOTAL	189	155	344	55	

QUE. A value lower than .50 is an indication of an effect which is disfavoured to the use of RIEN QUE (i.e. favourable to the use of SEULEMENT).

It can be noted, first, that two factor groups were found by GoldVarb II not to have a significant effect on variation namely *social class* and *locality of residence*. The fact that the expected association between SEULEMENT and middle class speakers, and between RIEN QUE and working class speakers was not found is somewhat surprising since such associations were found for Montreal French. However, in the present study, an association with gender was found. More specifically, RIEN QUE is associated with male speakers (Massicotte also found a weak association between RIEN QUE and male speakers), while SEULEMENT is associated with female speakers. The association with gender revealed by the present study, then, does provide an indication of the vernacular status of RIEN QUE and the standard nature of SEULEMENT in Ontario French, since, as is pointed out by Labov (1990), in the case of stable linguistic variation, male speakers often tend to favour vernacular variants more so than do female speakers. It may thus be hypothesized that RIEN QUE is a stable vernacular variant in Ontario French, a hypothesis that would need to be tested using a cross-sectional speaker sample.

The fact that level of local francophone concentration was not found to have a significant effect on RIEN QUE usage is also surprising, given that, as will be seen presently, level of French language use restriction was found to be correlated with variation (the restricted speakers evidence a marked decline in RIEN QUE usage). Consequently, one would have expected the decline of RIEN QUE to be significantly more pronounced in the weak francophone minority communities. In previous studies of variation, based on the corpus used for this study, this discrepant pattern of factor group selection has occasionally been observed (i.e. locality selected and French language use restriction not selected, or vice versa). This may be due to the fact that the two factor groups are related, and may consequently "cancel each other out" in the regression analysis. Be that as it may, it can be noted that while the frequency percentages of RIEN QUE usage found for each locality were not deemed to differ significantly from each other, in the ternary calculation of frequencies displayed in Table 2, one can observe a gradation of frequency percentages according to locality going in the expected direction.

Turning now to the factor groups which were selected by GoldVarb II, and starting with level of French language use restriction, it can be seen that this factor group was found to have an effect on RIEN QUE. More specifically, the restricted speakers (who tend to use French primarily within the school context) were found to manifest the expected decline in the use of the vernacular variant. Indeed, they exhibit the lowest factor effect value found for RIEN QUE. Having said this, it should be pointed out that the decline of RIEN QUE in the speech of the restricted speakers does not entail a concomitant process of

standardization, since these speakers use the standard variant, SEULEMENT, only 14% of the time (see Table 2), a frequency which is similar to that displayed by the other two groups of speakers. This decline, then, which could be aptly referred to as a process of devernacularization, is unlike what has been found in previous studies of variation in the speech of these same Franco-Ontarian adolescents. In these studies, the decline or total loss of the vernacular variants was accompanied by the concomitant rise of their standard counterparts (see Mougeon and Beniak, 1991, for examples of such studies). Explanations for the finding of the present study will be proposed later in the study when the extra-linguistic correlates of JUSTE usage are discussed.

Finally, turning to the effect of syntactic context on locution choice, the following hierarchy of syntactic constraints was found for the use of RIEN QUE versus SEULEMENT: left of verb is associated with categorical usage of RIEN QUE, right of verb exerts the second highest effect on the use of RIEN QUE, noun phrase and complement seem to have little or no effect on the selection of RIEN QUE or SEULEMENT (the effect values found for these two contexts are close to 0.50), and adjective is the context most favourable to SEULEMENT. Concerning the use of RIEN QUE left of verb, it should be pointed out that only two instances of this usage were found. They both occur in the speech of the semi-restricted speakers. The fact that these two usages were not found in the speech of the unrestricted speakers, speakers who are dominant in French for the most part, supports the ascription of this usage to syntactic interference from English. Finally, that the two usages in question were not found in the speech of the restricted speakers reflects the fact that these students have the lowest degree of exposure to the vernacular.

It would be interesting to compare these results on the effect of syntactic context on RIEN QUE usage with those of the Montreal French studies. However, as concerns this variant, or the other two variants for that matter, no such comparison can be easily made for the following reasons: i) there are too many discrepancies in the way these sets of data were categorized for syntactic context; ii) a ternary analysis of variation was used in the Thibault and Daveluy study, versus a binary analysis in the present study; and iii) no GoldVarb analysis of variation was performed in the Massicotte study.

The results of the second GoldVarb analysis (JUSTE vs. RIEN QUE+ SEULEMENT) appear in Table 4.

Regarding the effect of syntactic context, the following hierarchy of syntactic constraints was found: left of verb is clearly the most favourable context for JUSTE usage; followed by right of verb and complement, which seem to exert effects of similar strength; then adjective, which is neither favourable nor unfavourable to JUSTE; and noun phrase, which is somewhat more favourable to the use of the other two variants. Concerning the use of JUSTE in the context left of verb, it can be mentioned that all but one of the 15

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instances of this infrequent usage *were* found in the speech of the restricted speakers. Once again, this supports the idea that this usage is the result of syntactic interference from English.

As concerns the effect of social class on the choice of restrictive expression, the expected association of JUSTE with speakers from the middle class was not found; instead, it is speakers from the working class who favour this variant *more* so than do other speakers. The expected association of JUSTE

Table 4

GoldVarb analysis of *juste vs rien que* and *seulement*

Factor Groups	<i>Juste</i> (N)	<i>Rien que &amp; Seulement</i> (N)	Total (N)	<i>Juste</i> (%)	Factor Effects
FRENCH-LANGUAGE RESTRICTION					
Unrestricted	218	110	328	66	0.51
Semi-restricted	366	176	542	68	0.41
Restricted	231	57	288	80	0.64
LOCALITY					
Hawkesbury	90	45	135	67	0.39
Cornwall	224	137	361	62	0.40
North Bay	198	71	269	74	0.57
Pembroke	303	90	393	77	0.57
SOCIAL CLASS					
Middle	106	67	173	61	0.40
Lower-middle	393	182	575	68	0.44
Working	316	94	410	77	0.60
GENDER					
Male	385	210	595	65	0.40
Female	430	133	563	76	0.60
SYNTACTIC CONTEXT					
Left of Verb	15	2	17	88	0.72
Right of Verb	169	51	220	77	0.59
Complement	214	66	280	76	0.57
Adjective	43	16	59	73	0.50
Noun Phrase	374	208	582	64	0.41
TOTAL	815	343	1158	70	

with female speakers, however, was revealed. Taken together, these two findings may be an indication that JUSTE usage is on the rise in Ontario French since, as has been shown by Labov (1990), working class women are often at the vanguard of linguistic change. This pattern, thus, is different from that noted earlier for RIEN QUE, which was hypothesized to be a stable variant since it was favoured by male speakers. However, to be certain that JUSTE is indeed on the rise in Ontario French, it would be necessary to examine data from a cross-sectional sample. In any case, this present study has identified a pattern of social distribution for JUSTE which is the opposite of what was found for Montreal French.

The expected association of JUSTE with locality was also found. More specifically, the factor effects show that the speakers from the two communities with the weakest level of francophone concentration, Pembroke and North Bay, favour JUSTE more so than do the speakers from Cornwall, the strongest of the francophone minority communities, and Hawkesbury, the strong francophone majority community. It is interesting to note that this difference of effect takes the form of a clear two-way split (Pembroke and North Bay with equal effect values, versus Cornwall and Hawkesbury with almost equal values). This, then, constitutes the kind of evidence expected in order to support the hypothesis that the increased JUSTE usage is promoted by a process of English language convergence. Interestingly, the GoldVarb analysis also revealed that there is an association between JUSTE usage and French language use restriction. The restricted speakers (who are, for the most part, dominant in English) favour this expression more so than do the other two groups of speakers. In the Mougeon and Beniak study (1991), level of French language use restriction did not have an effect on preferential use of À LA MAISON. The fact that an effect of French language use restriction was found in the present study, then, constitutes further evidence in support of the English language convergence hypothesis.

The fact that JUSTE usage was found to be correlated" *both* with i) working class and female speakers, and ii) French language use restriction (and weak francophone localities) is interesting. It is unlike what was found in previous studies of variation in the speech of Franco-Ontarian adolescents. In these studies when both social class and/or gender, and French language use restriction were found to have an effect on the use of a given variant, the latter was typical of standard Canadian French and hence was correlated with middle class speakers, not working class ones. Two explanations can be offered for the exceptional pattern brought to light by this study. The previous studies just mentioned focussed on long-standing cases of variation (e.g., the alternation between *à* and *de* to express possession, studied by Mougeon and Beniak, 1991) where the standard variant is likely to be used often in the Franco-Ontarian schools and where the vernacular variant is not. Since the restricted speakers

use French primarily in the school context, it stands to reason that they will use such standard variants more often than the other speakers, who, it will be remembered, use French outside the school and in situations associated with the vernacular. In the case of variation under study here, although JUSTE is correlated with working class speakers, it may have just recently risen in Ontario French (as it has in Montreal French) and, hence, its sociostylistic values may have yet to be firmly established in the community. In other words, restricted speakers probably hear JUSTE in the school context, just as they hear other weakly marked non-standard usages (e.g., /l/ deletion in *il/(s)*, or *ne* deletion). In this context, however, these speakers must also often hear the standard variant SEULEMENT, which they should use more often than the other adolescent speakers. That they do not, and are instead at the vanguard of JUSTE usage, must therefore lie in the fact that, on psycholinguistic grounds, they must be naturally inclined to strongly prefer JUSTE. They are, as has been mentioned above, dominant in English for the most part, and JUSTE has a counterpart in their stronger language, namely restrictive JUST.

Now, the reader will recall that each locality in the present study varies in terms of its local francophone concentration (from strong majority to weak minority) and hence in the extent to which adolescent Franco-Ontarians belong to a community where they can communicate in French in the different domains of society. Thus, it is interesting to find out whether the dual association of JUSTE with working class (and female speakers) and with restricted speakers is observable in all four communities as opposed to just one or more (but not all) of the communities. To investigate this question, separate regression analyses were run for each of the four francophone communities. The results appear in Table 5.

As can be seen, French language use restriction, on the one hand, and social class and gender, on the other hand, were not simultaneously selected in the communities under study, with the exception of North Bay. Concerning the factor of French language use restriction, Table 5 shows that it was not selected as a predictor of JUSTE usage in Hawkesbury and Cornwall, but was in North Bay and Pembroke. In Hawkesbury, francophones represent 85% of the local population (they are, therefore, even more in the majority than in Montreal), and in fact, all but one of the Hawkesbury students in the sample are unrestricted speakers. Therefore, the factor of French language use restriction does not apply in the case of these subjects. In Cornwall, francophones, although a minority, represent a non-negligible proportion of the local population (35%). This would account for the fact that French language use restriction was not selected as a predictor of JUSTE in these two communities. In North Bay and Pembroke, francophones form much weaker minorities (17% and 8% respectively), and so it stands to reason that French language use restriction is found here to have an effect on JUSTE usage.

Table 5

GoldVarb analysis of *juste vs rien que* and *seulement* as a function of locality

Factor Groups	French Language Use Restriction			Social Class			Gender		Syntactic Context				
	Unrest.	Semi-Rest.	Rest.	Middle	Lower-Middle	Working	Male	Female	Left of Verb	Right of Verb	Adject.	Noun Phrase	Comp.
Hawkes.	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.32	0.24	0.76	0.25	0.60	N/A	K.O.	K.O.	0.32	0.78
Cornwall	N.S.			0.34	0.43	0.64	N.S.		N.S.				
N. Bay	0.80	0.34	0.72	0.35	0.43	0.66	0.25	0.79	N/A	N.S.			
Pembroke	0.20	0.40	0.68	N.S.			N.S.		N.S.				



As concerns social class, the fact that this factor was not found to have a significant effect on the use of JUSTE in Pembroke, but was in the other three localities, is interesting. This is not the first time that, in studies based on the corpus used for the present study, an expected association of a linguistic variable with social class has failed to be observed in the French of the restricted speakers (see Tennant, 1995, in relation to /l/ deletion in articles), or in the three minority communities (see Nadasdi, 1995, in relation to subject doubling). Therefore the lack of an association of JUSTE usage with social class was found to occur in the weakest of the minority communities, which is also the locality of residence of the highest proportion of restricted speakers, is in line with the findings of these two researchers. What these findings suggest is that the phenomenon of French language use restriction (both at the individual and community level) can be observed, at least in certain cases of variation, to disrupt the patterns of social stratification that are often found in monolingual, or majority communities. The reason for this probably lies in the fact that in weak Franco-Ontarian communities, francophones can communicate in French in only a limited number of societal domains, and not necessarily in the same domains (some Franco-Ontarians use French both at home and at work, others use this language only at home, some Franco-Ontarians have been entirely educated in French, others in both French and English, etc., see Mougeon (to appear). That Franco-Ontarian adolescents who live in such communities do not, at times, display a pattern of social stratification in their spoken French could then be seen both as a reflection and an outcome of the heterogeneity described above.

As concerns gender, this factor was not selected in Pembroke and Cornwall, but was in North Bay and Hawkesbury. The results for Pembroke are in line with those concerning the lack of association with social class and could be interpreted in the same fashion. However, the results for Cornwall suggest that this may not be the only explanation. Given that this community is the strongest of the three francophone minority communities, one would expect to observe the association of JUSTE with gender in the speech of the students from this locality. After all, the association was found in the speech of the North Bay students (francophone concentration in that locality is weaker than in Cornwall). One possible explanation for this inconsistent pattern is that, in variation studies based on data gathered in unilingual or majority settings, social class is often found to have a more robust effect on variation than gender, and so when statistical analyses are performed, it is not always the case that gender is selected as a predictor of variation if social class is. In other words, the inconsistency in the selection of gender across localities in the present study may be an indication that in minority communities language use restriction has more of a disruptive effect on the weaker association between gender and variation than on the more robust association of social class with variation.

The analysis of variation by locality also included an examination of the effect of syntactic context. Interestingly, the results of this GoldVarb analysis revealed that syntactic context has an effect on variable usage of JUSTE only in Hawkesbury. No instances of JUSTE were found left of verb in the speech of the Hawkesbury students. This makes sense since all but one of these subjects are unrestricted speakers of French, and all of them report being dominant in French. Once again, right of verb was found to be the most favourable context of JUSTE usage, but in this community, it is associated with categorical usage of JUSTE. The fact that the context of adjective restriction is also associated with categorical usage of JUSTE in Hawkesbury can be ascribed to the extreme paucity of data in this context, only three occurrences in all. The context of complement is also quite favourable to JUSTE usage, here much more so than in the data on the effect of syntactic context presented in the overall analysis in Table 4. Finally, the context of noun phrase is quite clearly unfavourable to JUSTE, as was also shown to be the case in the overall analysis; although, in that analysis, the unfavourable effect was not as pronounced.

What the analysis of effect of syntactic context by locality has revealed, then, is a clear hierarchy of constraints in the speech of the Hawkesbury students. These students best exemplify the most conservative variety of Ontario French, a variety which is as close as can be in this province to a monolingual variety of French. In contrast, in the minority francophone localities, the hierarchy of syntactic constraints is much less clear, to the extent that it was not even selected as a significant factor in the variation of restrictive expressions. This, in turn, suggests that, in the overall analysis presented in Table 4, much of the effect of syntactic context found on the variation of JUSTE usage is attributable to the speech of the Hawkesbury students.

One previous study of variation in Ontario French which examined the effect of linguistic context (Mougeon and Beniak, 1995) documented a pattern where the linguistic constraints on variation observed by the Hawkesbury students were discontinuous with those observed by the students from the minority communities. Mougeon and Beniak's (1995) study was centered on the loss of subject verb agreement in the 3pl.. In light of these two authors' finding then, it would be interesting to pursue the analysis of syntactic context on restrictive locution choice to check whether, in these communities, the Franco-Ontarian students do not adhere to different syntactic constraints than those that have been examined to date.

## Conclusion

The main findings of the present study can be briefly recapped here. The effects of social parameters on restrictive locution choice, established by Massicotte and Thibault and Daveluy for Montreal French, which have also been documented by the present study, are: i) a correlation between RIEN QUE usage and male speakers, and ii) a correlation between JUSTE usage and female speakers. The findings on the effects of social parameters of the present study which differ from those of the Montreal studies are: i) a lack of correlation between social class and RIEN QUE usage (in Montreal French RIEN QUE is correlated with working class speakers), and ii) a correlation between JUSTE usage and working class speakers (in Montreal French JUSTE usage is correlated with middle class speakers).

The present study has also documented the effects of level of French language use restriction and of local level of francophone concentration on restrictive locution choice, two extra-linguistic parameters which were not investigated in the Montreal studies. The main findings on the effects of these parameters which emerged from the present study can be summarized as follows. The sharp decline of the vernacular variant RIEN QUE evidenced by the restricted speakers of French confirms the now well-established finding that young Franco-Ontarians enrolled in French-medium schools, who do not maintain French in the informal situations of communication, speak a markedly "devernacularized" variety of French. However, it is interesting that, in the present study, the decline of the vernacular variant in their speech is not accompanied by a concomitant process of standardization, since SEULEMENT (the standard variant) remains quite marginal in their speech. This latter finding is chiefly attributable to the fact that the restrictive variable under study includes a variant (JUSTE) which these speakers are quite prone to use since they are English dominant bilinguals for the most part and since it has a counterpart in English (restrictive JUST). The findings concerning the effects of degree of French language use restriction and of level of francophone concentration provide strong support for the idea that, in the speech of Franco-Ontarian adolescents, JUSTE usage is promoted by a process of English language convergence (covert interference in Mougeon and Beniak's terminology). In contrast to the phenomena of overt interference, or of lexical borrowing, linguistic convergence, as a source of linguistic change, is not very well documented in Ontario French, and, more generally, in the other varieties of French spoken in anglophone Canada. Hopefully sociolinguists who investigate variation in these dialects of Canadian French will pursue the investigation of this under-researched phenomenon.

An intriguing aspect of the present study is that it brought to light two potential external causes for the rise of JUSTE (assuming that Franco-Ontarian

adolescents use this variant more often than do older Franco-Ontarians): social status and gender on the one hand, and restriction in the use of French (with concomitant dominance in English) on the other. This makes the examination of the external correlates of JUSTE usage *by locality* all the more interesting. The main findings of this examination are: i) both sets of external causes are only at work in North Bay, ii) restriction in the use of French is at work in Pembroke and North Bay, but not in the other two localities, and iii) social status is at work in Hawkesbury, Cornwall and North Bay, but not in Pembroke (the weakest of the francophone minority communities). If one adds to this that the effect of syntactic context on JUSTE usage is only observable in the speech of the Hawkesbury students, the analysis of variation in restrictive locution usage by locality, then, has documented several aspects of what Mougeon and Nadasdi (1996) refer to as discontinuities in the effect of the external and internal parameters of variation. Such discontinuities, which are, in part, likely the result of the type of heterogeneity in patterns of language use discussed above in relation to the weak francophone minority communities, have also been documented within a single community or across several communities by other sociolinguists, especially those who study variation in languages spoken in contact settings. They constitute what is perhaps one of the most exciting phenomena which have been brought to light by recent sociolinguistic research.

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